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SPEECH

OF

HON. GEO. E. PUGH, OF OHIO,

ON THE

ACQUISITION OF CUBA.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, FEBRUARY 10, 1859.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to facilitate the acquisition of the Island of Cuba—Mr. PUGH said:

Mr PRESIDENT: In proceeding to consider the question whether Cuba ought to be annexed to the United States, I am not unmindful of the earnest declaration made by the Senator from Virginia, (Mr. MASON,) that the enlargement of our domain, for the purpose of enlargement only, is an unwise policy, and of dangerous consequence. Whether I should or should not agree with him, in this regard, is immaterial at present; no such enlargement has been, or ever was, seriously proposed. We have in the United States a people energetic and ambitious to the last degree; and our youth will not be restrained from those fields of enterprise in which others have failed, but in which they are confident of success. You may enact laws and elaborate treaties and deliver maxims and issue proclamations; you may send navies and armies whithersoever you will; but my word for it, Senators, when you undertake to stay the path of man's conquest over the material world—over the wastes of the land or the wastes of the sea—when you undertake to fortify sloth or imbecility or barbarism, against the inroads of industry, courage, and civilization—whether in Cuba, or Mexico, or Central America, or anywhere else—you undertake a vain and a fruitless task. If our system of government be not adequate for such emergencies; if it should ever be placed in antagonism to the generation which, with pulses warmer and quicker than inspire us, with genius more exalted than we can boast, with zeal too heroic for our comprehension, now presses forward to the places we fill to-day, and soon must drive us from the scenes of action; then, as certainly as the day pursues the night, will grander and nobler systems of government be inaugurated in its stead. The wisdom of our time, the duty to which we have been called, is to avoid such antagonism, and to adapt, by well-ordered amendments, not only our legislation, but our general policy, to the necessities of our children; that so, after we shall have forsaken these places, these honors, and these cares, and gone to our last repose, the Constitution and the Union in which we now rejoice, with the splendid organization of States thereby represented, glorious in the achievements of the past and the energies of the present and the hopes of the future, will remain securely established forever.

The boundaries of the United States have been extended, Mr. President, on four memorable occasions—by the acquisition of Louisiana, of Florida, of Texas, and of New Mexico and California. But, sir, besides these, every admission of a new State is, and must needs be, an extension of our system of government. On the 30th of April, 1789, when our first President entered upon his first term of administration, the ambassadors of eleven sovereignties were summoned to the spectacle; when we followed the Senator from Virginia, as our presiding officer, to the eastern access of the Capitol, on the 4th of March, 1857, we represented thirty-one sovereignties; and since that time—since we installed Mr. Buchanan

in the presidential chair—Minnesota has been added to the number. We can wisely decide, therefore, on the experience of more than half a century, as to the effect of extending our Federal system. There is no man, probably, within the sound of my voice, who does not now acknowledge (whatever he may have said heretofore) that the fate of our republican institutions, our independence, and our prosperity, was involved in the contest between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson for the administration of the executive department. That contest was decided by the votes of States admitted after the Constitution had been adopted. Adams triumphed over Jefferson, in December, 1796, by three votes, and Jefferson over Adams, in December, 1800, by eight votes. But Jefferson received the votes of Kentucky and Tennessee; and, upon his second election, in December, 1804, the vote of Ohio. The subsequent triumphs of Madison and Monroe, candidates of the ancient and genuine Republican party, were secured by the accession to the Union of Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Maine—as the triumph of the Democratic Republican party, since that time, has been secured by the accession of other new States. The problem of our destiny, as a nation, was solved by the reëlection of James Monroe, in December, 1820. A country so extensive as the United States, even at the period of our independence, with interests so widely diversified, never can be subject to a consolidated government: it requires a Confederacy, limited to the regulation of those affairs which all the States have in common, and excluded from everything else. Herein, at length, was manifest the wisdom of that Constitution our fathers had ordained; and slowly above the world's horizon, above the clouds and the mists which obscured its rising, appeared a new constellation; of stars equal and separate in glory, but of glory also in common; various in design, but of kindred influence; alike in movement, and therefore in effect; a constellation which now enlightens the whole western hemisphere, and calls to its adoration the hearts of such as love liberty everywhere on the habitable earth—I mean, sir, THE CONSTELLATION OF OUR IMPERIAL REPUBLIC.

Let us not be timid, nor too tardy, in pursuing the path trodden by the wisest of our predecessors. With such boundaries as we have, at present, no mere lust of dominion ought to be encouraged or tolerated; but only as the necessities of our people require, from time to time, should the confines of the Union be enlarged. This rule is a safe one; it is one easily observed, as well as defended, because it is the law of our national growth and development. If the acquisition of Cuba be within this rule, as I shall endeavor to show, our duty and our interest alike demand that we should omit no reasonable endeavor toward its accomplishment. To frustrate such an enterprise on account of sectional, or partisan, or personal considerations, would be to degrade our country from the high position which she now occupies.

The Island of Cuba extends almost from the seventy-third meridian of longitude west from Greenwich, to the eighty-fifth meridian, and lies between the tropic of Cancer and the nineteenth parallel of north latitude. Its area is thirty-four thousand and two hundred and thirty-three square miles; that of its principal dependency, the Isle of Pines, eight hundred and ten square miles; and that of other dependencies (small islands) nine hundred and seventy square miles. It is almost as large, therefore, as the State of Ohio, and larger than the State of Indiana. The richness of its soil, the luxuriance of its agricultural production, its genial climate, the wondrous beauty of its hills, rivers, woods, and plains, attracted the admiration of Columbus on his first voyage of discovery; and supposing this to be a part of the Asiatic continent, he mistook it for the kingdom of Cathay, described, half in fable and half in fact, by the elder geographers and travelers. Since that time, the capacities and resources of Cuba have been ascertained to be greater than those of any region, of equal extent, upon the globe. The staples of exportation, at present, are sugar, coffee, cigars, tobacco in leaf, molasses, honey, and wax; these being so profitable, in late years, as almost entirely to exclude cotton, indigo, wheat, hemp, flax, and the produce of the vine.

It has been shown to us, by the reports of the Committees on Foreign Relations, in the Senate and in the House, that free commerce between Cuba and the United

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Printed
By Dan. Ellett, 50c.

States is now an absolute necessity for both; that, upon the immense quantities of sugar and molasses imported thence annually, we pay an export duty to the Spanish Government as well as an import duty to our own; that, on the other hand, the stores of meat and breadstuffs exported from all our Northwestern States, through New Orleans, and along the very shores of Cuba, cannot find admittance there, because of discriminating duties against us, levied by Spain, amounting to nearly or quite one hundred per cent. These considerations are of vital interest to the people whom I have the honor to represent, and are alone sufficient, in my estimation, to require that the Government of the United States should tolerate no obstacle, whether of diplomacy or even of war, between us and a reciprocal interchange of production.

The aggregate of taxation *directly* imposed on foreign sugar and molasses, consumed in the United States, during the last year, as shown by the report of the House committee, is \$6,346,184; and the enhanced price of Louisiana sugar and molasses, caused by the duty of twenty-four per cent. on importations, amounts to an additional taxation (*indirect*) of almost two millions more. This, in a year of magnificent crops at home, is what we pay for the production, in Louisiana, of one hundred and seventy-five thousand tons of sugar, or (say) fifteen to eighteen millions of dollars in value. If the Government of the United States be under obligation to "protect" the planters of Louisiana, by insuring them a specific price for sugar annually, how much more sensible would it be to adopt, at once, the policy of Holland toward her colonists in Java, purchasing the entire crop, each year, and reselling even at a loss of three or four millions? That would save the consumers one half, at least, of the burden now imposed.

I have noticed in several newspapers an appeal to Congress for the taxation of tea and coffee. Sir, those articles are taxed already, and taxed enough. What difference to the man who would drink a cup of tea or of coffee, whether he pays twelve per cent. on the tea or the coffee, and twelve per cent. on the sugar with which it is made palatable, or pays twenty-four per cent. on the sugar alone?

On the other hand, as sugar is only produced by the labor of slaves, and we have forbidden the importation of slaves from abroad, while the African slave trade as well as the Chinese slave trade flourish in Cuba, it has been fairly argued that as we have increased the price of slave labor in Louisiana, by legislation, for reasons of wise and humane policy, we ought not to reward the inhumanity, the bad faith, and the turpitude of the Spanish authorities in Cuba, by an equal access to our markets. The way to avoid this alternative—to be just toward Louisiana and toward the consumers of sugar—is to annex the Island of Cuba to the United States, and thus bring it within the operation of our laws for the suppression of the slave trade.

But sugar is not the only article in regard to which an inequality of trade with Cuba exists. On all exportations, except cigars, there is a discrimination of thirty-three to one hundred per cent. against us. In the report on Commercial Relations, volume 3, page 127, it is said:

"**EXPORTS.**—By the tariff of 1847, sugar in foreign bottoms pays $37\frac{1}{2}$ cents a box; in Spanish 25 cents. Coffee in foreign bottoms pays 20 cents a bag; in Spanish 12 cents. Tobacco in foreign bottoms pays \$1.50 per one hundred pounds; in Spanish 75 cents. Cigars (no discrimination) 50 cents per thousand. Gold of every description exported in foreign bottoms to foreign or Spanish ports, two and a quarter per cent. on valuation of \$16 per ounce; to Spanish ports in Spanish vessels, nothing. Silver of any description, in foreign or Spanish bottoms to any foreign ports, three and a quarter per cent. on valuation of \$16 per pound; to Spanish ports in foreign or Spanish vessels, nothing. All other produce exported to foreign ports pays on the valuation seven and a quarter per cent. in foreign vessels, and four per cent. in Spanish; to Spanish ports in Spanish vessels, three per cent. and one per cent. balance.

"By virtue of the royal order, before mentioned, of November 3, 1850, (published here 19th December of said year, and which began to be enforced in respect to exportations on 1st January, 1851,) the following additional duty is levied upon exported produce: 50 cents per box of sugar; 25 cents per one hundred pounds of tobacco, or per thousand of cigars."

Turning from exports to imports in Cuba, the discrimination is even more remarkable. Thus, on page 126 of the same report, I find:

"The last tariff for imports and exports of the Island of Cuba commenced to be enforced in 1847. The import duties on articles of every description are levied upon a fixed average value of the articles in the island. The valuation is specified in the tariff. Foreign merchandise in foreign bottoms pay some twenty-seven and a half per cent.; others thirty-three and a half per cent; foreign merchandise in Spanish bottoms, from foreign ports, some nineteen and a half per cent., others twenty-three and a half per cent. Fine jewelry is excepted; if foreign, coming in foreign bottoms, it pays seven and a half per cent.; if in Spanish bottoms, five and a half per cent. Spanish jewelry, coming either in Spanish or foreign vessels, pays only three and a half per cent. The same rates of nineteen and a half per cent. and twenty-three and a half per cent., are levied upon foreign merchandise coming from the peninsular in Spanish bottoms. Spanish goods coming in foreign vessels, pays some fourteen and a half per cent., others seventeen and a half per cent. All Spanish productions or manufactures, (with the exception of jewelry, as above stated,) that come in Spanish vessels, pay seven and a half per cent."

And now comes (page 127) a paragraph well worthy of attention:

"The above does not include flour, which, by virtue of several royal orders, pays the following rates:

Spanish flour in Spanish bottoms.....	\$2 00 per barrel.
Spanish flour in foreign bottoms.....	6 00 " "
Foreign flour in foreign bottoms.....	9 50 " "
Foreign flour in Spanish bottoms.....	8 50 " "

"All flour pays, besides, two per cent. on the valuation of \$12 50 per barrel, and one per cent. balanza.

"Subsequently, one half per cent. was added upon all imports; and still later, (19th December, 1850, by virtue of a royal order, dated 3d November, of same year,) an additional increase was laid on, to last for two years, of one and a half per cent. on valuation of all foreign imports, and one seventh to be charged over and above the amount to that time paid on Spanish imports. This increase was to cover certain necessities of the Government. The two years went by long ago; the necessity may have passed; but the additional percentage is still exacted."

It thus appears that every barrel of flour imported from the United States is valued at \$12 50 for the purposes of taxation, and is taxed \$10 85. Accordingly, in 1851, there were imported into Cuba only two thousand one hundred and two and a half barrels of flour, of the value of \$26,281 25, on which duties to the amount of \$20,704 36 were levied. (Commercial Relations, vol. 3, page 128.)

The valuation of \$12 50 per barrel seems to have been adopted for the purpose of avoiding the effect of our treaties with Spain; a species of refined iniquity like the "home valuation" often proposed to us, but happily repudiated from our first tariff act until the present time.

When you consider that the United States hold, geographically, toward Cuba, the relation of the nearest exporter of flour, this practical exclusion of us from her market, by such a discrimination of duties, cannot be otherwise than unjust and offensive in the last degree. Nor is it an accidental injustice: it is part of that policy which Spain has pursued toward us whenever, and as often as she could find an opportunity or excuse. In the report on Commercial Relations, vol. 3, page 131, the compiler says:

"I find, on a critical examination of the whole Spanish tariff, embracing three thousand and sixty-one articles, a discrimination to the prejudice of the United States in all cases where the interests of the consumers and Government here do not compel a contrary course; and, for example, in the following manner, whereby to escape observation and the charge of unfair treatment: handkerchiefs of cotton, for duty, assessed at thirty five and a half per cent., and one per cent. balance on valuation; while, of all other material, and of expensive fabrics not made in, or of products of the United States, they are assessed at twenty-nine and a half per cent., and one per cent. balance on valuation."

The same page indicates fully the extent of all this injustice:

SUMMARY.

Duties paid at the ports of the Island of Cuba by vessels of all nations, including cargoes by same.....	\$8,873,086 62
Duties paid by vessels of the United States, with their cargoes, and including other fees, tonnage, light, and mud-machine dues.....	3,338,120 91
Difference.....	\$5,534,965 71

Commercial movement of Cuba with the world.....	\$57,234,178	93 $\frac{1}{2}$
Commercial movement of Cuba with the United States.....	18,663,553	98
Difference	\$38,570,624	95 $\frac{1}{2}$

The commerce of Cuba with the United States, as here shown, bears about the proportion of one third of all her commerce; and yet on that third, \$18,663,553 98, we pay three fifths, \$3,338,120 91, of all the duties.

But, sir, the geographical position of Cuba, without reference to any other fact, is enough to decide the whole question. Remember that Cuba lies in the very gorge of the Gulf of Mexico; that no vessel can enter, or find exit, until she has passed the guns of Spanish fleets and forts; that the nation which controls Havana, now and henceforth and forever, must hold our immense property, as well as the lives of our citizens and the honor of our flag, at its own discretion. The most truthful and famous of travelers, Alexander Humboldt, has described this in language at once glowing and accurate:

"That northern portion of the sea of the Antilles known as the Gulf of Mexico, forms a circular bay of more than two hundred and fifty leagues diameter: as it were, a mediterranean with two outlets, whose coasts, from Cape Florida to Cape Catoche, in Yucatan, appertain exclusively, at the present time, to the Confederations of the Mexican States and of North America. The Island of Cuba, or, more properly speaking, that part of its shore between Cape San Antonio and the City of Matanzas, situate near the entrance of the old Bahama channel, closes the Gulf of Mexico on the southeast, leaving to the oceanic current we call the Gulf Stream, no other passages than a strait on the south, between Cape San Antonio and Cape Catoche, and the Bahama channel on the north, between Bahia Honda and the reefs of Florida.

"Near the northern outlet, and immediately where a multitude of highways thronging with the commerce of the world cross each other, lies the beautiful port of Havana—strongly defended by nature, and still more strongly fortified by art. Fleets sailing from this port, built in part of the cedar and mahogany of Cuba, may defend the passages to the American mediterranean, and menace the opposite coasts, as the fleets sailing from Cadiz may hold the dominion of the ocean near the columns of Hercules. The Gulf of Mexico and the old and new Bahama channels unite under the meridian of Havana."

On the 3d of September, 1783, when Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States by definitive treaty, Spain had exclusive dominion of the Gulf of Mexico, and because she owned the entire coast from the Cape of Florida to the Cape of Yucatan; her possession of Cuba, at that time, was altogether appropriate. On the 30th of April, 1803, the United States acquired Louisiana, from the Perdido river to the Rio Grande, by treaty with France—to which power Spain had ceded the province three years before—and thus acquired an interest in the Gulf of Mexico and its commerce. On the 22d of February, 1819, Spain ceded to us, by treaty, the provinces of East and West Florida; and obtained from us, in part recompense, the country between the Rio Grande and the Sabine river. Very soon afterwards, Mexico established her independence, and Spain ceased to be the owner of a single inch of the Gulf coast.

Texas separated from Mexico in 1836, asserting, and successfully maintaining, independence. In December, 1845, she was annexed to the United States; and in February, 1848, Mexico ceded to us all claim on Texas, westward to the Rio Grande, as well as the provinces of New Mexico and Upper California. In the same year (1848) Yucatan asserted her independence; since which time, that province never has been subdued by Mexico, but has gradually relapsed into barbarism.

The present condition of the Mexican Republic—and, indeed, her condition for the last eleven years—is that of anarchy, retrogression, and ultimate ruin. Without regard, therefore, to our duties imposed by the acquisition of California and the colonization of the Pacific coast—involving, as those duties must, the care of the Tehuantepec isthmus, and all inter-oceanic routes—the United States have a greater interest in the Gulf of Mexico than any other nation. Why, therefore, should Spain command us in that quarter? She has no longer a colony on the Gulf coast, nor does she contribute anything to its commerce. The possession of New Orleans by France, in 1800, was not as objectionable as the possession of Cuba by Spain has now become. It is a possession by mere strictness of title, and

without any reason or equitable consideration. What would be our decision, or that of any candid man, to-day, if Spain had repeatedly endeavored to purchase Gibraltar from Great Britain; and finding all such overtures rejected, while the retention of that fortress by a foreign power constantly endangered the peace and welfare of her people, should deliver herself, nobly, at the point of the sword? And yet Spain has not a case of such merit in regard to Gibraltar, as we now present in regard to Cuba; for Spain is not alone interested in the commerce of the Mediterranean sea, and holds only a small share of its coast; whereas, we own the Gulf of Mexico, practically, and are entitled to the key which locks and unlocks it.

There is another fact worthy of the utmost consideration. While Spain thus controls at mercy, and without any reason, the commerce and the necessary defence of our western and southern States; while she violates (as I have shown) all the obligations of comity and fair intercourse between neighbors, it is, nevertheless, impossible for us to avoid relations with her. The winds and the waves continually complicate the difficulties caused by her position toward us. Vessels engaged in the trade of the Gulf, sailing to or from Galveston, New Orleans, Mobile, or Pensacola, are often compelled to seek refuge in the ports of Cuba, or be wrecked upon its shore; and often, in such cases, the gravest outrage is perpetrated by the Spanish authorities—outrage on the law of hospitality acknowledged by all nations; outrage caused, nine times in ten, by sheer wantonness and malice. Cuba has no constitutional, or even responsible, government; neither the inhabitants of the island nor foreigners, whether sojourning there from choice or necessity, have the least safeguard of liberty, property, or right. The will of the Captain General is the law for Cuba in all cases—a Spanish soldier sent to repair his broken fortunes at the expense of the people over whom he tyrannizes. He appoints the judges and ministerial officers; he can remove any of them at pleasure. To describe such oppression, in every detail, is a task beyond my abilities; I adopt, therefore, the words of one who has been its victim:

"In the first place, Cuba is not, by far, a Government that can be tolerated by any civilized nation. It is rather a focus of outlaws, the present Captain General having been once declared a traitor, and condemned to death in Spain, which wishes to keep far off such contagion, while she is robbing and killing through the orders of the aforesaid Governor, invested with the arbitrary powers of suspending any judge that does not follow the programme formed by himself in regard to any individual, either a Cuban, a citizen of the United States, or English, or French.

"The present system of administration is: the Captain General addresses the highest tribunal, declaring that such a man is a filibuster, and deserving imprisonment. This order the tribunal obeys, and then three or four men are selected by the Governor from amongst his own people, to attest that he has spoken in favor of annexation, or he is accused of secreting arms for revolutionary purposes, which arms, probably, have been placed in their hiding places by the minions of the accuser himself. In case the judges do not obey, they are suspended, as was the case when they gave sentence in favor of Mr. Embil, who opposed the robbing of some of his property. Seven judges of the inferior and superior courts were suspended.

"Such an awful state of affairs, which exposes daily the property and lives of citizens of every nation, cannot be tolerated or accepted as legitimate, when it is really a farce on justice."

It is no matter of astonishment consequently that from year to year, and almost from month to month, we have serious complaint of injuries committed in Cuba to the persons and property of our citizens. But, sir, what avail such complaints? They cannot be preferred to the Captain General; because, although his power of mischief and offence is unlimited, he has no power of redress. They must be preferred to the Court of Spain; transmitted thence to Havana for investigation, and returned to Madrid for argument and decision. Thus, while the most flagrant outrages have been committed at our very doors—outrages from the occurrence of which our citizens could not even guard themselves—such as have sought redress (and few ever found that worth their while) were compelled to seek it on the other side of the world, and after having traversed the ocean, backward and forth several times, until fortune and health and patience became exhausted, to abandon the attempt as altogether hopeless. Truly, as the House committee has said, our list of claims against Spain, of this description, resembles the docket of prosecu-

tions in some county court; except, indeed, that we have no reasonable prospect of judgment, or even trial.

While I shall vote for this bill, and especially with some restriction as to the amount which may be tendered, I am not sanguine of success in the negotiation; but when that shall have failed, or been refused, another duty awaits the President as well as ourselves. It is to notify Spain that she must arm the Captain General of Cuba with diplomatic powers; that no further complaint will be made by the United States at the Court of Madrid, on account of outrages committed under his jurisdiction; that, upon the next occasion of serious injury to our citizens in Cuba, redress will be demanded on the spot, and exacted, if need be, at the canon's mouth.

In this, sir, we should only imitate the example of James Madison and his supporters, in Congress, when Spain pursued towards us, in regard to Florida, the same policy which she now pursues in regard to Cuba.

Resolution and act relative to occupation of the Floridas by the United States of America.

Taking into view the peculiar situation of Spain and her American provinces, and considering the influence which the destiny of the territory adjoining the southern border of the United States may have upon their security, tranquillity, and commerce: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, cannot, without serious inquietude, see any part of the said territory pass into the hands of any foreign power, and that a due regard to their own safety compels them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the said territory; they, at the same time, declare, that the said territory, shall, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation.

Approved, January 15, 1811.

An act to enable the President of the United States, under certain contingencies, to take possession of the country lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the State of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to take possession of, and occupy all, or any part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido, and south of the State of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, in case an arrangement has been or shall be made with the local authority of said territory for delivering up the possession of the same or any part thereof, to the United States; or, in event of an attempt to occupy the said territory, or any part thereof, by any foreign Government; and he may, for the purpose of taking possession and occupying the territory aforesaid, and in order to maintain therein the authority of the United States, employ any part of the Army or Navy of the United States which may be necessary.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That \$100,000 be appropriated for defraying such expenses as the President may deem necessary for obtaining possession as aforesaid, and the security of the said territory, to be applied, under the direction of the President, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That in case possession of the territory aforesaid shall be obtained by the United States, as aforesaid, that, until other provision be made by Congress, the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to establish within the territory aforesaid a temporary government, and the military, civil, and judicial powers thereof shall be vested in such person or persons, and be executed in such manner, as he may direct, for the protection and maintenance of the inhabitants of the said territory, in the full enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

Approved, January 15, 1811.

This act and the resolution which accompanied it, were not published for almost two years; Congress having so directed in the act of March 3, 1811, at the same session. Clearly, then, no menace was intended, but an effectual provision for the redress of injuries and the public defence. The next Congress adopted a similar act for West Florida:

An act authorizing the President of the United States to take possession of a tract of country lying south of the Mississippi Territory and west of the river Perdido.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized to occupy and hold all that tract of country called West Florida, which lies west of the river Perdido, and now in possession of the United States.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That for the purpose of occupying and holding the country aforesaid, and of affording protection to the inhabitants thereof, under the authority of the United States, the President may employ such parts of the military and naval force of the United States as he may deem necessary.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That, for defraying the necessary expenses, \$20,000 is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be applied for that purpose under the direction of the President.

Approved, February 12, 1813.

Such proceedings are not only in accordance with the law of nations, but with that law of nature which defines the rights of men everywhere, in barbarous as in civilized countries. It is the measure exacted of us by Great Britain, when the steamer Caroline was seized on our own shore, at midnight, drawn into the current, and fired; like some gorgeous sacrificial pageant, an Iphigenia colossal as the deity to whom she had been devoted, speeding to the inexorable abyss of Niagara.

The letter of Lord Ashburton to Mr. Webster, July 28, 1842, contains this remarkable sentence:

"Self-defence is the first law of our nature, and it must be recognized by every code which proposes to regulate the conditions and relations of man."

Having narrated the circumstances at length, Lord Ashburton said :

"The force, formed of all the reckless and mischievous people of the border, formidable from their numbers and from their armament, had in their pay, and as part of their establishment, this steamboat Caroline, the important means and instrument by which numbers and arms were hourly increasing. I might safely put it to any candid man acquainted with the existing state of things, to say whether the military commander in Canada had the remotest reason, on the 29th of December, to expect to be relieved from this state of suffering by the protective intervention of any American authority? How long could a government, having the paramount duty of protecting its own people, be reasonably expected to wait for what they had no reason to expect? What would have been the conduct of American officers? What has been their conduct under circumstances much less aggravated? I would appeal to you, sir, to say whether the facts, which you say would alone justify this act, namely : a necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation, were not applicable to this case in as high a degree as they ever were to any case of a similar description in the history of nations."

Our Government acknowledged the doctrines here professed ; and, by their application to the case, Great Britain became absolved of all liability and censure. But, sir, the Caroline was not so much an instrument of mischief to the British authorities in Canada as the mere possession of Cuba by Spain is now to us. We cannot avoid Cuba in any manner ; it is there, at the entrance of the Gulf, commanding all access and escape ; and it must either belong to us, or, at least, be so governed as not to give us continual uneasiness. No man, and therefore no nation, has any right to retain a cause of injury at the door of a neighbor, without having there, also, immediately at hand, the means of precaution and redress. "When thou buildest a new house," said the law of Moses, "then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence." (Deuteronomy, xxii. 8.) How much more does it behove Spain, holding the Island of Cuba by a formal title, contrary to the wishes of the people over whom that title is maintained, to avoid the injustice which she has exercised, thus far, toward the persons and the property of our citizens?

That the people of Cuba—and I do not include, by this, the municipal dignitaries in Havana or elsewhere, appointed by the Captain General—that the people of Cuba really desire annexation to the United States, I have no doubt. To allege that they are contented with the present system, is not only to confess ignorance of their condition and history for the last ten or twelve years, but to deny them all the characteristics of manhood. Neither in Cuba, nor anywhere else, on this or the other side of the Atlantic, can there be found an individual of the Caucasian race who does not aspire, in his heart of hearts, to some participation in the Government under which he lives, its powers, its honors, its emoluments, as well as endeavor to attain the security of his person and possessions. If the people of Cuba are so well satisfied, why does Spain consume almost the entire revenue of the island, annually, for the maintenance of twenty-five thousand soldiers, not to mention officers of the civil list, spies, detectives, and the like? It is a larger army than we require for the defence of our vast boundaries and the subjugation of all our Indian tribes.

There is no argument for union between Cuba and Spain except community of

blood. That did not prove sufficient in Mexico, nor in Central or South America; it did not restrain our colonial ancestors, although of English descent, when the time for revolution arrived.

Cuba could not, if she would, maintain her existence as an independent nation. Texas tried that for eight or nine years, and failed. In every respect, therefore, the proximity and natural relations of Cuba are such as to demand, for her sake and our own, that she should be annexed to the United States.

The Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. HALE) asserts that for us to acquire Cuba, even by means of purchase, would be an act of gross injustice toward Spain; which argument he founded on certain historical suggestions. He said:

"I am not skilled in the diplomatic history of this country, but I think it will be found to be a fact that Spain, our earliest ally, has maintained her treaty stipulations of peace, amity, good will, and friendship with us, from the time when, in 1778, she extended to us the right hand of friendship, when we were struggling for a name and a place in the family of nations. Then, in our feebleness, in our infancy, in our poverty, nay, in our very destitution, when we had neither a name to live, nor an arm to defend ourselves with, she came to our aid; she lent us money and men and ships, and she rendered us service when it was needed; and from that day to this, Spain has maintained, in unbroken succession, the position and the relation of an ally and a friend."

That Spain had either money, or men, or ships to lend any one, in 1778, is a fact rather difficult to be established; certain it is that she lent us none, nor did she ever assist us in any manner.

Our first treaty with her was on the 27th of October, 1795, long after we had achieved independence, and even established our present form of Government, toward the close of Washington's second term. It was not a treaty of alliance, but for the settlement of boundaries between her colonies and us, and to define accurately our right to navigate the Mississippi river. (*Statutes at Large*, vol. 8, p. 138.) Its twenty-first article was for indemnification of outrages which she had committed on our citizens. Since that time, so far as my research extends, our relations with her always have been of the most unsatisfactory character. Omitting the controversies in regard to Louisiana, until the cession of that colony to France, and afterwards to us, I come to the case of the Floridas, in February, 1806, when a proposition of purchase, similar to this, was made by Congress. On the 15th of January, 1811, as I have shown, Congress authorized the President to take possession of East Florida; and on the 13th of February, 1813, to take possession of West Florida. On the 22d of February, 1819, those two colonies were ceded to us by treaty; and yet, so conspicuous was the bad faith of Spain, the exchange of ratifications did not occur—was delayed, in fact, by one frivolous pretext after another, for almost or quite two years. President Monroe was provoked to the last degree, and in his annual message of December, 1819, recommended that Congress should authorize him to take possession of the ceded territory as though the treaty had been ratified. These facts are well narrated by Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, in the report of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. He has truly depicted, also, the character of our relations with Spain for the last ten or twelve years:

"Nothing can be more irritating to an independent and spirited nation, or better calculated to precipitate collisions, than to have such vast and delicate interests as our most important coastwise intercourse compelled to pass almost within hail of foreign fortifications, and to run the gauntlet of alien fleets. Hence, our relations with Spain are constantly of a semi-hostile character, and our Minister at Madrid can do little else than wrangle with the Government to which he is accredited about high-handed outrages and petty grievances inflicted upon our citizens, which Spanish officials in Cuba are armed with full power to inflict but none to redress."

The Senator from New York (Mr. SEWARD) declares that a proposition to Spain for the cession of Cuba, will be a grave insult, and one which she must and will resent. He adduces, in proof, the report of certain very high-toned speeches of the Spanish minister and others, lately delivered in the Cortes, at Madrid. How such a proposition, expressed in polite language, can be construed as an insult or indignity, altogether exceeds my comprehension. It is easy for him who seeks an insult, at any time, to be insulted; otherwise, the Spanish Minister has rendered himself quite ridiculous. An insult to propose that Spain should cede,

to us, for money, or any other consideration, a colony as remote from her, and as near to our boundaries, as the Island of Cuba! It was not an insult, nor received as such, eleven years ago, in Mr. Polk's time. Really, sir, Spain would seem to have learned a new point of honor since February 22, 1819, when she listened to such a proposition in regard to Florida, and even accepted it—thus pocketing the insult and the money together. Did Napoleon Bonaparte understand when he was insulted? If so, hear what Mr. Jefferson said to him:

"I should suppose that all these considerations might, in some proper form, be brought into view of the Government of France. Though stated by us, it ought not to give offence; because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controllable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them, not as things which we desire, by any means, but as things we deprecate; and we beseech a friend to look forward and to prevent them for our common interests."

Bonaparte discovered no insult in this, and felt no dishonor in ceding to us, for money, the whole province of Louisiana. Surely, sir, the terms of intercourse between him and us, half a century ago, when he was at the zenith of power and splendor, and we were struggling with infantile helplessness, are good enough for us to adopt, in present circumstances, toward the Spanish Minister, or the minister of any other nation. If such terms be construed into an offence, and especially where offence has been disclaimed, let those who would be prouder than Napoleon, whether Spaniards or others, show us whereon their pride is founded.

We are admonished, also, that Great Britain and France will not suffer us to acquire the Island of Cuba. Said the Senator from New York:

"Heretofore, Spain has held the Island of Cuba in the midst of conflicts between the two great Powers of western Europe, England and France, liable to lose it to one or the other belligerent at any moment. To-day, England and France are not only allies, but they are united in the policy of maintaining Spain in the enjoyment of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, the last remains of her once world-wide empire."

Well, sir, Great Britain and France have no legitimate concern with the question; their business lies chiefly on the other side of the Atlantic; and, unless they are anxious for a controversy with us, they will abstain from all interference. If there be one maxim to which our national honour is pledged; a maxim delivered to us, time and again, by the oracles of revolutionary wisdom; it is that the European system of dictation by sovereigns to each other, shall never be extended to this continent. Whenever we yield that, under any menace or apprehension, the day of our greatness will decline; we shall have become so far corrupted by wealth, so indolent and effete, that our liberties are at the mercy of him who will seize them, and our republic will soon pass into history forever.

Twenty-five years ago, on the 2d of December, 1823, President Monroe addressed Congress in these memorable words:

"The political system of the allied Powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety."

These words, uttered in the time of our comparative feebleness, with no such elements of prosperity as now fill our gaze on every side, sufficed to deliver Mexico and Central and South America from the dominion of a European alliance. Will their emphatic repetition to-day deliver Central America and Mexico and Cuba from the dominion of a European alliance which now threatens them? Alas! sir, I know not; but I do know that, accordingly as President Buchanan shall enforce at every hazard, or shall shrink from, the doctrines proclaimed by Mr. Monroe, in December, 1823, so will his Administration be one of the most glorious, or the meanest, in all the annals of our empire.

It is quite probable that Great Britain and France will resist, even to the uttermost, our endeavors to acquire Cuba, or to extend our boundaries in any direction. When I speak of France, however, I speak not of our ally in the ancient and famous time. That France no longer exists; her pride and her liberties were

betrayed, together, in the very house of confidence; while the France of which I now speak—the France of Louis Napoleon—like a petty German State, subsidized for the occasion, merely executes the designs and contributes to the grandeur of that monarchy which, from the earliest period, has attempted, but never before accomplished, her entire humiliation. With Great Britain, sir, and Great Britain fortified by the addition of French valor and arms, we must henceforth contend—a contest not only for predominance over this continent, but for predominance and fame throughout the world and for ages to come. The elements of an issue so fearful (and fearful indeed it is) have been gathering, silently and surely, ever since the flag of our Republic was carried in triumph to the capital of Mexico; and whatever the arts of diplomacy, or how earnestly soever we consult that wisdom which closes its eyes to an unpleasant consequence, the issue cannot be avoided, nor much longer postponed.

Of course, Mr. President, this declaration of my opinions will be received here, and perhaps elsewhere, as something altogether absurd. I have been a Senator of the United States long enough, at least, to comprehend the length and breadth—and—not depth, but shallowness, of our present system of foreign relations. I know that my opinions are heterodox according to such a standard; but, whatever the ridicule, or the dignified scorn, or the self-complacent rebuke—all which I encountered in the Senate, two years ago, when speaking on the same subject—I abate neither jot nor tittle of what I have said.

It is about eleven years since Great Britain commenced her present intrigues, encroachments, and usurpations in Central America. Seeing the United States on the point of acquiring California, and, thereby, a predominance over the isthmian routes of Mexico, Nicaragua, and New Granada, she determined to interpose, by mere violence, against the consummation of a destiny so natural and appropriate. For this purpose, having already enlarged a right, by treaty with Spain, to cut logwood on the coast of Belize, in Guatemala, to a claim of territorial authority, she next invented or revived the tradition of some protectorate over three or four hundred savages, partly of Indian and partly of African blood, calling themselves the Mosquito tribe, and infesting the shores of Nicaragua toward the Caribbean sea. It was not merely an absurd pretext; it was in flagrant defiance of the “right of discovery” in virtue of which, alone, Great Britain, as well as France and Spain, first asserted dominion over the American continent, and established a rule of intercourse for the aborigines and their several colonists. And yet, under such pretext, in January, 1848, did Great Britain seize the mouth of the San Juan river, substitute the name of Greytown for that of an ancient Spanish settlement, and usurp control of the Nicaraguan coast from the boundaries of Costa Rica to those of Honduras.

Nicaragua resented such usurpation, and properly called on the United States to maintain the doctrine announced by President Monroe in December, 1823, when the Holy Alliance of Europe made a similar attempt. It was an era of singular blindness on our part; we had no John Quincy Adams in the Department of State; no Henry Clay, or Daniel Webster, in the youthful splendor of his genius, to command the House of Representatives. With a view to enlist us in her defence, Nicaragua proposed, and actually concluded, a treaty with our Minister, (Mr. Hise,) whereby an exclusive right of transit across her territories, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, was accorded to us. That treaty was not even submitted to the Senate for ratification; but, instead, the Secretary of State (Mr. Clayton) commenced negotiations with the British Minister here, upon the footing of a joint interest, and, therefore, a joint protectorate, over the isthmian routes. This negotiation ended in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the most preposterous engagement into which the United States ever entered.

How Great Britain has observed that treaty, in spirit, letter, or effect, I need not here relate. We are all of opinion (and have often so said) that her conduct has been a persistent violation of it in every particular. And yet, sir, from year to year this violation progresses; until Nicaragua has been dismembered, and even blotted from the roll of nations. Between the Mosquitos on the one side, and Costa Rica, under French protection, upon the other, nothing is left to her; and

when the Republic of Nicaragua is mentioned, in correspondence or in debate, we know it is a mere sound, an empty name, a myth of no signification. A handful of miscreants, under English and French influence, with no territorial dominion, without any power at home or abroad, are permitted, by diplomatic quackery, to usurp and profane the title of her that is dead. Our steamships are searched by British men-of-war in the very harbor of San Juan; and we content ourselves, as we did at the last session, by three or four tame resolutions, and by sending a large fleet to Paraguay, in South America, in order to coerce an insignificant tyranny there. The Nicaraguan route is no longer traveled; and, as for the route of Panama, our citizens have been wounded, menaced, and shamefully abused, without any redress, when they ventured its passage.

The impunity with which Great Britain and France have conducted their aggressions in Central America, since Mr. Polk left the presidential chair, now emboldens them to still more audacious enterprises. It is upon Mexico, at length, their ambition has seized. She, also, appealed to us; and having once secured to our citizens, by treaty, the route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, she had a just claim on us for protection against the overwhelming strength of European assault. Instead of such protection, or even a word of kindness, we suffered the constitutional government of Mexico to be undermined by intrigues within and violence without; until now, (as the last packet informs us,) the navies of Great Britain and France do not scruple to blockade the ports of Vera Cruz and Tampico, in order to compel an increase of the tariff on imported merchandise. That Cuba will remain exempt from the operation of a scheme so long meditated, and so boldly pursued, is more than I can believe; the scheme includes her, and includes every inch of this continent, as well as of the islands adjacent. In a moment of unusual jubilation, while the "holy alliance" of Great Britain and France was urging Russia to the brink of ruin, a British Secretary of State assured a faithful Parliament that other, and ulterior, and even more important, affairs were in contemplation. I allude, sir, to the speech of Lord Clarendon, in which he declared:

"The union between the two Governments has not been confined to the Eastern question. The happy accord and good understanding between France and England, have been extended beyond the Eastern policy to the policy affecting all parts of the world; and I am heartily rejoiced to say, that there is no portion of the two hemispheres with regard to which the policy of the two countries, however heretofore antagonistic, is not now in entire harmony."

To be sure, this had no relation to us—not the slightest! Was not our amiable Minister so assured, in terms at once condescending and confidential? What else it could mean, or to whom be applied, Mr. Dallas did not ascertain; but, certainly, to such as are unskilled in diplomatic intercourse, looking at the events of Central America and Mexico since that time, it would seem as if the United States were about to become another Sebastopol, and beleaguered on every side.

As I have no confidence in the "explanations" vouchsafed to us with regard to Lord Clarendon's speech, I expect and believe that any serious attempt on our part to acquire Cuba, by negotiation or otherwise, will be obstructed. The Senator from New York has told us the truth for once; and we must either assert our independence, our right to control the destinies of this continent, free of all domination or dictation by Great Britain, or France, or any other European Power, or else abandon ourselves to the rank of Sardinia, Portugal, and the German States. We are to be somebody, or nobody, in the world; and, for one, I would as lief decide that in Cuba as upon any other spot of earth. Let us, at all events, know the worst; and if our time of abasement has arrived, let us, with what composure we can, kiss the feet of our masters, and teach our children to do the same.

I might well be asked, entertaining such opinions, why vote for the bill now proposed? Simply, sir, because it can do no harm; and if, perchance, the President should be able to acquire Cuba in this manner, I would not only feel, but would publicly express, more satisfaction than to see my own apprehensions realized. As to the objections of detail urged by the Senator from New York, some days since, I esteem them of very little importance. The bill provides an appropriation of \$30,000,000 to be paid for a cession of the island, with its dependencies; which amount is to be raised by a loan at five per cent., and so much as may be neces-

sary, paid whenever the treaty shall have been ratified by Spain. If the bill should be successful, therefore, it will be an appropriation of money, *by law*, from the Treasury of the United States, in strict accordance with the Constitution, and for an object as clearly and exactly defined as any object specified in our annual appropriation bills. The law is to be executed, of course, by the President of the United States, as all other laws are required to be executed; and the money expended through the Department of State, or some of our ministers abroad, as other appropriations for like purposes always have been, and always must be, expended. The outlines of the bill are in pursuance of three famous acts of our legislation—the act of February 26, 1803, under which Louisiana was purchased; the act of February 13, 1806, intended for the case of Florida; and the act of March 3, 1847, which led to the acquisition of New Mexico and California.

An act making provision for the expenses attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That a sum of \$2,000,000, in addition to the provision heretofore made, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated for the purpose of defraying any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States, who shall cause an account of the expenditure thereof to be laid before Congress, as soon as may be.

Approved, February 26, 1803.

An act making provision for defraying any extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, a sum of \$2,000,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated towards defraying any extraordinary expenses which may be incurred in the intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States who shall cause an account thereof to be laid before Congress as soon as may be.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, authorized, if necessary, to borrow the said sum, or any part thereof, in behalf of the United States, at a rate of interest not exceeding six per centum per annum, redeemable at the will of the Congress of the United States. And it shall be lawful for the Bank of the United States to lend the whole, or any part of the same.

SEC. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That so much as may be necessary of the surplus of the duties on imports and tonnage, beyond the permanent appropriation heretofore charged upon them, by law, shall be, and hereby is, pledged and appropriated for the payment of the interest and reimbursements of the principal, of all such moneys as may be borrowed in pursuance of this act, according to the terms and conditions on which the loan or loans may be effected.

Approved, February 13, 1806.

An act making further appropriation to bring the existing war with Mexico to a speedy and honorable conclusion.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, whereas a state of war now exists between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, which it is desirable should be speedily terminated upon terms just and honorable to both nations; and whereas assurances have heretofore been given to the Government of Mexico that it was the desire of the President to settle all questions between the two countries on the most liberal and satisfactory terms, according to the rights of each and the mutual interests and security of the two countries; and whereas the President may be able to conclude a treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico prior to the next session of Congress, if means for that object are at his disposal; and whereas in the adjustment of so many complicated questions as now exist between the two countries, it may possibly happen that an expenditure of money will be called for by stipulations of any treaty which may be entered into; therefore, the sum of \$3,000,000 be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to enable the President to conclude a treaty of peace, limits, and boundaries with the Republic of Mexico, to be used by him in the event that said treaty, when signed by the authorized agents of the two Governments, and duly ratified by Mexico, shall call for the expenditure of the same or any part thereof; full and accurate accounts for which expenditure shall be by him transmitted to Congress at as early a day as practicable.

Approved, March 3, 1847.

Two of these acts, it will be observed, were in the time of President Jefferson—certainly as little disposed as any President ever was, or ever will be, to encroach on the legislative department, or tolerate any increase of Executive power and influence.

Indeed, sir, until now, our most eminent statesmen do not seem to have discovered that such a bill confers on the President any control over the Treasury, or any undue control over the conduct of our foreign relations. I am willing to err (if it be an error) with them; although, certainly, whatever amendment can be suggested by the Senator from New York, or any one else, to restrain this appropriation of money to the object intended, or otherwise guard against an abuse or misemployment of the powers to be conferred, will receive my vote and assistance.

As to the substitute proposed by the Senators from New York and Vermont, as a minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, it does not deserve much comment. The first section requires the President to communicate to the Senate, at the beginning of the next session, "if in his opinion not incompatible with the public interest," the condition of our relations with Spain, at that time, as well as the condition of the Treasury, the Army, and the Navy. The second section authorizes him to convene the Senate, or Congress, "in extraordinary session," whenever he may consider that advisable. Inasmuch as all these duties or powers have been expressly confided to the President by the Constitution, our recapitulation of them, in a statute, would be as idle and even as ludicrous, as one could well imagine.

I am content to fortify the President with the means and the powers which he now asks at our hands. No mischief can ensue, as I have said, in case of failure; because, without a treaty for the cession of Cuba, no money is to be paid, or even borrowed, inasmuch as none will be required.

It is said, however, that we thus commit ourselves, in advance, to the ratification of whatever treaty the President may negotiate. I think not. Spain knows, or will know, quite as well as we, that the treaty must be ratified according to the requirements of our Constitution, or else be wholly inoperative. She ratified the treaty of February 22, 1819, with modifications; and these were afterwards accepted by us.

There is no "blank draft" on the Treasury—no pledge or guaranty for the payment of one dime beyond \$30,000,000 in this bill; and the entire treaty will be subject to ratification, amendment, or rejection, by the Senate, as all other treaties are. If the President should stipulate for a larger consideration to Spain, whether in money or otherwise, than two-thirds of the Senate believe to be advantageous, in the circumstances, that will end the treaty, or lead to further negotiation.

It is suggested, also, that we will forfeit the \$30,000,000 in case we do not ratify the treaty; but such an objection, if ever so valid, must have applied as well to all past negotiations of this character. I do not see, for my own part, how a forfeiture can rightfully be predicated of such a case; but as Spain has always been dilatory in the payment of her debts, I assume that we may lose the whole amount paid in advance, (whether \$30,000,000 or less,) if the treaty be not ratified on our side. The amount is a large one, and particularly in the financial embarrassment which has lately overtaken us. I underrate none of these considerations; but, after all, so essential do I consider the acquisition of Cuba to our prosperity—so anxious am I to avoid the difficulties which gather, from day to day, over the whole subject; urging us steadily toward a rupture with Great Britain and France, as well as with Spain; that I will take any reasonable risk, or stretch the credit of the United States to any reasonable extent, rather than to suffer one more year to elapse without some definite, and, as I fervently hope, some decisive action. I do think, however, the bill should contain a limitation as to the amount for which the President may stipulate; or rather, a provision that no payment shall be made in advance of ratification by both parties, unless the whole amount stipulated be within a certain maximum. I would specify as such maximum \$130,000,000, or, at farthest, \$150,000,000.

The Senator from New York objects to the acquisition of Cuba, politically, because that island is now inhabited, and by a people, as he says, "different entirely from the citizens of the United States; different in language, different in race, different in habits, different in manners, different in customs, and radically different in religion." What the Senator means by a difference in race, I do not comprehend. The descendants of the Spaniard, in America, are like the rest of us;

they came of our stock, and are admitted, every day, under our laws of naturalization, to the rights and privileges of native-born citizens. All the nations of Europe had a common origin; and the Caucasian race, notwithstanding its diversities of language, habits, manners, customs, and religion, is, at last, the same. Its unity is innate, and its diversity an affair of accident or circumstance; but when the Senator from New York and his associates, endeavor to blend the African with the Caucasian, upon terms of social or political equality, then, to be sure, do confusion and degradation threaten us. There is no more diversity of race between the people of the United States and the people of Cuba, nor any more diversity of language, or habits, or manners, or customs, or religion, than the Senator may behold to-day in the great city which he represents. The people of Cuba are such as Louisiana, and Florida, and Texas, and New Mexico, and California, contained at their respective periods of annexation; and, so far from the least difficulty, has not the genius of our Federal system been admirably proved and illustrated in each instance?

But the Senator desires to be told "what institutions of justice, of freedom, of religion, and public worship," will obtain in the Island of Cuba after it shall have been annexed to the United States. I answer, once for all, such "institutions," exactly, consistent with the Constitution of the United States, as the people of Cuba wish; they shall be, so far as I am concerned, upon an equal footing with the people of other States.

The Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. DOOLITTLE) announced to us yesterday, as the programme of the modern and self-styled Republican party, that the tropical zone of this continent should be for the negro, and only its temperate zone for the white man. I am really obliged to the Senator for so honest a proclamation; having always been convinced that the party of his attachment, upon which he has lavished as many affectionate caresses and epithets as Sancho Panza could have suggested, intends that Cuba and Mexico, and Central América, and, if possible, our own southern States, shall be reduced to the miserable condition of Hayti and Jamaica. But, sir, I admonish the Senator that his colored friends will not be able to retain the empire which he so generously, and without any cost to himself, would thus give them. In Jamaica, it appears, they are becoming extinct from sheer indolence; while in Hayti, at the last advices, the Emperor Souloque was running to, or from, very urgent business.

There is a decisive objection, beside this, to the Senator's magnificent scheme, an objection which even Commodore Paulding cannot assist him to remove. It is, that the Atlantic shores of our continent have been found so much colder than Europe, or Asia, or Africa, between the same parallels. We are now assembled, at Washington city, almost in the latitude of Lisbon and Palermo and Corinth and Athens and the classic fields of Asia Minor, but the climate here is colder by several degrees. Indeed, sir, no nation of less energy than our own, or the nation whence most of us derive our lineage, could have so long maintained the arts of civilization in such inclement regions as Canada, and the northern British provinces. That achievement, alone, entitles the Anglo-Saxon blood to universal admiration. Does the Senator imagine, then, that he can devote seas and shores, in America, as mild and beautiful as the ancient Mediterranean and the gardens which surround it, to the exclusive dominion of negroes; driving the white man to struggle, forever, with the ice-bound streams, the pathless snow-drifts, or any of the barriers with which winter would encompass and chill our enterprise?

The Senator from New Hampshire complains that our acquisitions tend southward and westward, but never toward the Arctic climes. I am not aware of any instance in which the United States declined territory North or East of our present possessions. The Senator complained, especially, that the Ashburton treaty of 1842, alienated a portion of the State of Maine; but I never heard a complaint from Maine upon the subject, nor from any of her citizens. They consented to it, and, I believe, on very ample consideration. They did not even pause to argue whether they had or had not been insulted. That treaty was negotiated by Daniel Webster; and the opposition to its ratification, by the Senate, was altogether from the Democratic party. And so in respect to the treaty which es-

tablished our northwestern boundary upon the forty-ninth degree of latitude. I cannot tell whether the Senator himself voted for or against the ratification of that; but he knows that all the negative votes (unless, perchance, his own) were cast by Democratic Senators.

Canada has never been restrained from annexation by us, but by the wise concessions, time and again, of the British Government. The contrast of her case and the case of Cuba, is very remarkable; the one enjoying a right of local legislation, and an executive dependent on the Legislature for existence; while the other is subject to the arbitrary decrees of a Captain General, appointed by the Court at Madrid, and maintained in power by an army of twenty-five thousand men. Canada has likewise enjoyed, of late years, the advantage of reciprocal free trade with the United States; while Cuba, as I have shown, is deprived of all the advantages of her position, and devoted entirely to Spanish exaction or convenience. Whether the concessions of Great Britain will, or will not, be sufficient, hereafter, to retain the affections of the Canadian people, is a question too remote for me to consider; but, as soon as they shall ask admission into our Union, or fall under oppression like that of Cuba, the Senator from New Hampshire will find himself outstripped in zeal by those who represent the Democratic party here.

Several Senators on the other side, and the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. WILSON) among them, announce great anxiety for the acquisition of Cuba, but object, most vehemently, to the means now proposed. I have already expressed a serious doubt whether the means will prove sufficient; but certainly, sir, they are such means, and none other, as did suffice in the case of every acquisition (except Texas) heretofore made. Why should those who profess a desire for the annexation of Cuba, on either side of the Senate, scruple at an experiment, (if such you call it,) which has always proved successful? I can imagine but one reason—that reason which, from the days of Louisiana to the present hour, has enabled the Democratic party to recover from any mistake, or defeat, or disaster—I mean, sir, the blindness of opposition. It is my deliberate opinion that the people of the United States are, almost unanimously, in favor of the acquisition of Cuba; and that party which, for the sake of any supposed advantage, nearly at hand, shall postpone so vast a question, or cavil at mere particulars, or attempt the disguise of collateral arguments and pretences, will effectually seal its own destruction.

Mr. President, the expansion of our Federal system, as one emergency after another shall require, is the law of our development; it is the sign of our national vitality; the pledge of our national endurance. This proud sentiment, although imperfectly revealed, and perhaps never expressed, animates the heart of the humblest pioneer now braving the wrath of the savage or the hardships of the wilderness on our westernmost border; it is a theme of glory to boyhood, to youth treading the paths of temptation, to men in every pursuit—the capitalist and the laborer, the merchant, the artisan, the scholar, the soldier, the sailor—to all who reverence their country and their country's renown. Indeed, sir, I can imagine no spectacle more grateful to an American citizen, at home or abroad, than the contemplation of that splendid procession across our continent within the last sixty years. Commencing with feeble settlements on the bay's, inlets, and tributaries of the Atlantic ocean; thence to the summits deemed almost impassable, and beyond these, to the banks of a river extending from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the region of the lakes, and swollen at every degree by the floods gathered as well in the Alleghanies as in the Rocky Mountains—itself, therefore, a complete emblem of UNION to all—thence, over prairies of marvelous magnificence, to the fastness and the desert; turning from which, at length, to seek more hospitable and shorter paths, by the Isthmus, we have carried our name, our watchwords, and our ensign, to the Golden Gate, where California, with her snowcapped diadem, sits virgin empress of the seas.

May it be, sir, that when our sons have searched the uttermost corners of the earth, and overcome every other obstacle, their virtue and love of liberty and devotion to the example of our great fathers, will not require them to despise us, altogether, as men unworthy of the fortunes to which we were called!

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